

Message Text

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O 241730Z JAN 77
FM AMEMBASSY CAPE TOWN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 5638
INFO AMEMBASSY PRETORIA NIACT IMMEDIATE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 6 CAPE TOWN 0106

SECSTATE FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY SCHAUFELLE

PRETORIA FOR DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY EDMONDSON

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR RH
SUBJ: IAN SMITH SPEECH TO NATION

FOLLOWING IS TEXT (STILL TO BE CHECKED AGAINST DELIVERY) OF
IAN SMITH ADDRESS TO NATION TO BE DELIVERED AT 2000 SALISBURY
TIME TODAY, JANUARY 24, 1977.

BEGIN TEXT.

I WOULD LIKE TO TALK TO YOU THIS EVENING ABOUT THE CRUCIAL
QUESTION OF OUR CONSTITUTIONAL FUTURE. TO GIVE YOU THE
BACKGROUND, I MUST REMIND YOU THAT FOLLOWING MY MEETING WITH
DR KISSINGER IN PRETORIA LAST SEPTEMBER, MY GOVERNMENT
ACCEPTED THE PROPOSALS FOR A SETTLEMENT WHICH HE HAD PUT TO ME.
I STRESS AGAIN THIS EVENING, AS I STRESSED THEN, THAT THEY WERE
NOT OUR PROPOSALS. THEY WERE BASED ON A PAPER WHICH HAD BEEN
PREPARED BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND DISCUSSED WITH THE
AMERICAN AND SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS BEFORE WE KNEW ANYTHING
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ABOUT THEM. I WAS ASSURED THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WAS FULLY
IN THE PICTURE. BEFORE I ANNOUNCED OUR ACCEPTANCE IN MY
BROADCAST OF 24TH SEPTEMBER, I WAS INFORMED BY DR KISSINGER THAT
THEY HAD BEEN AGREED BY PRESIDENTS NYERERE AND KAUNDA ON BEHALF
OF THEIR COLLEAGUES AND OF THE RHODESIAN NATIONALIST LEADERS. IN
THE LIGHT OF HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH THEM, AND TO AVOID ANY POSSIBLE
MISUNDERSTANDING, DR KISSINGER GAVE ME THE EXACT WORDING WHICH

I SHOULD USE IN DETAILING THE AGREEMENT IN MY BROADCAST.

BECAUSE MEMORIES ARE SHORT AND TO ENABLE YOU TO UNDERSTAND FULLY THE PRESENT SITUATION, I NOW REPEAT THE FIVE POINTS OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN AGREEMENT AS I READ THEM OUT ON 24TH SEPTEMBER:-

1. RHODESIA AGREES TO MAJORITY RULE WITH TWO YEARS.
2. REPRESENTATIVES OF THE RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT WILL MEET IMMEDIATELY AT A MUTUALLY AGREED PLACE WITH AFRICAN LEADERS TO ORGANIZE AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT TO FUNCTION UNTIL MAJORITY RULE IS IMPLEMENTED.
3. THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT SHOULD CONSIST OF A COUNCIL OF STATE. HALF OF WHOSE MEMBERS WILL BE BLACK AND HALF WHITE WITH A WHITE CHAIRMAN WITHOUT A SPECIAL VOTE. THE EUROPEAN AND AFRICAN SIDES WOULD NOMINATE THEIR REPRESENTATIVES. ITS FUNCTION WILL INCLUDE:
LEGISLATION:
GENERAL SUPERVISORY RESPONSIBILITIES: AND SUPERVISION
OF THE PROCESS OF DRAFTING THE CONSTITUTION.

THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT SHOULD ALSO HAVE A COUNCIL OF MINISTERS WITH A MAJORITY OF AFRICANS AND AN AFRICAN FIRST MINISTER. FOR THE PERIOD OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT THE MINISTERS OF DEFENCE AND OF LAW AND ORDER WOULD BE WHITE. DECISIONS OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS TO BE TAKEN BY TWO-THIRDS MAJORITY. ITS FUNCTION SHOULD INCLUDE:

DELEGATED LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY: AND
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- EXECUTIVE RESPONSIBILITY.
4. THE UNITED KINGDOM WILL ENACT ENABLING LEGISLATION FOR THIS PROCESS TO MAJORITY RULE. UPON ENACTMENT OF THAT LEGISLATION, RHODESIA WILL ALSO ENACT SUCH LEGISLATION AS MAY BE NECESSARY TO THE PROCESS.
 5. UPON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT SANCTIONS WILL BE LIFTED AND ALL ACTS OF WAR, INCLUDING GUERRILLA WARFARE, WILL CEASE.

IT HAS BEEN SUGGESTED IN SOME QUARTERS THAT DR KISSINGER PLAYED A CONFIDENCE TRICK ON ME AND DELIBERATELY MISLED ME INTO BELIEVING THE BLACK PRESIDENTS HAD ACCEPTED TH
FIVE POINTS IN
ORDER TO PERSUADE ME TO GO AHEAD WITH MY BROADCAST. I DO NOT BELIEVE THERE IS ANY TRUTH IN THIS MALICIOUS STORY. FROM THE SIGNALS I RECEIVED, BOTH DIRECTLY AND INDIRECTLY, FROM DR KISSINGER, BEFORE AND AFTER MY BROADCAST, I AM QUITE SATISFIED THAT HE HAD OBTAINED BROAD AGREEMENT ON THE PROPOSED STRUCTURE OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT FROM BOTH NYERERE AND KAUNDA. THIS

INCLUDED IN PARTICULAR THE COUNCIL OF STATE WITH PARITY BETWEEN
BLACK AND WHITE MEMBERS AND WITH ONE OF THE LATTER ACTING AS
CHAIRMAN.

MY SPEECH OF 24TH SEPTEMBER WAS WARMLY COMMENDED BY BOTH THE
BRITISH AND AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS AND THERE WAS NO SUGGESTION FROM
ANY QUARTER THAT I HAD MISREPRESENTED THE ANGLO-AMERICAN
PROPOSALS IN ANY WAY.

HOWEVER, IT WAS NOT LONG BEFORE THE ATTITUDE OF THE BLACK
PRESIDENTS LED ME TO DOUBT WHETHER THEY WOULD HONOUR THE
AGREEMENT. DR KISSINGER HAD WARNED ME THAT THE RUSSIANS WOULD
DO THEIR BEST TO WRECK IT AS THEY DID NOT WANT A PEACEFUL
SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA. HOW RIGHT HE WAS. THE COMMUNIST
INFLUENCE WAS CLEARLY TO BE SEEN AT THAT TIME AND IT HAS
PERSISTED BEHIND THE SCENES EVER SINCE, BOTH THROUGH THE BLACK
PRESIDENTS AND DIRECTLY WITH MUGABE AND NKOMO.
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FM AMEMBASSY CAPE TOWN

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SECSTATE FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY SCHAUFELLE

PRETORIA FOR DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY EDMONDSON

IT WAS AT THIS STAGE THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT CAME OPENLY INTO THE PICTURE AND OFFERED TO CONVENE THE CONFERENCE. BEING ANXIOUS TO GET ON AND PUT THE AGREEMENT INTO EFFECT, I ACCEPTED ON THE CLEARLY STATED UNDERSTANDING THAT THE PURPOSE OF THE CONFERENCE WOULD BE TO IMPLEMENT THE THIRD OF THE FIVE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS, NAMELY THE SETTING-UP OF THE TWO-TIER INTERIM GOVERNMENT. I HAD ACCEPTED THIS PROPOSED STRUCTURE BECAUSE IT REPRESENTED A TRUE SHARING OF POWER AND CONTAINED, IN THE WORDS OF ITS BRITISH ORIGINATORS, CHECKS AND BALANCES WHICH WOULD ENSURE AN ORDERLY TRANSITIONAL PERIOD. ABOVE ALL, THE AGREEMENT PROVIDED THAT THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF LAW AND ORDER, AND OF THE SECURITY OF THE STATE, WHICH I HAVE ALWAYS SAID WAS THE PRIME RESPONSIBILITY AND CONCERN OF MY GOVERNMENT, WOULD REMAIN UNDER WHITE MINISTERS DURING THE INTERIM PERIOD. THIS WAS A CARDINAL FEATURE OF MY DISCUSSIONS WITH DR KISSINGER, WHO REPEATEDLY STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING STABILITY AND RETAINING THE CONFIDENCE OF THE WHITES DURING THIS PERIOD.

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IN THE DISCUSSIONS PRIOR TO THE CONVENING OF THE CONFERENCE I URGED THAT ATTENDANCE SHOULD BE CONFINED TO WHITE AND BLACK RHODESIANS WITHOUT ANY OUTSIDE OBSERVERS OR REPRESENTATIVES OF FOREIGN COUNTRIES. I WAS ASSURED THAT THIS WOULD BE THE CASE BUT WHEN I ARRIVED IN GENEVA I FOUND THAT THERE WERE TO BE OBSERVERS, NOT ONLY FROM THE SO-CALLED FRONT LINE STATES, BUT FROM OTHER STATES FURTHER NORTH AND FROM THE O.A.U. WHICH IS NOT A BODY NOTED FOR ITS DEDICATION TO A PEACEFUL SOLUTION IN RHODESIA. IN THOSE CIRCUMSTANCES, HOW COULD ANY AFRICAN DELEGATE AT GENEVA DARE TO BE LESS EXTREME THAN HIS FELLOWS?

THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, THAT SEEMINGLY STRANGE ALLIANCE BETWEEN NKOMO AND MUGABE, CAME INTO BEING AT THE DIRECTION OF THE BLACK PRESIDENTS, WHO HAVE CONTROLLED ITS TACTICS EVER SINCE. YOU WILL RECALL THAT AT THE INSISTENCE OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, MOST OF THE TIME AT GENEVA WAS DEVOTED TO ARGUMENTS BETWEEN THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND THE CHAIRMAN ABOUT A FIXED DATE FOR INDEPENDENCE. IT IS NO SECRET THAT THIS WAS DONE ON THE ORDERS OF THE PRESIDENTS. TAKING MOCAMBIQUE AS A PRECEDENT, THE BLACK DELEGATES WERE ADVISED THAT ONCE THAT DATE WAS IMMUTABLY FIXED, THEY COULD CAUSE AS MUCH DELAY AS THEY LIKED BECAUSE ON THAT DAY THE COUNTRY WOULD BE TAKEN OVER WILLY-NILLY, WHETHER OR NOT THE PROPER CONSTITUTIONAL AND ELECTORAL PROCESSES HAD BEEN COMPLETED.

MORE RECENTLY STILL THE BLACK PRESIDENTS HAVE DECLARED THEIR EXCLUSIVE SUPPORT FOR THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WITH ITS TERRORIST CONNOTATIONS. THIS ACTION HAS BEEN WIDELY AND ADVERSELY COMMENTED UPON, BUT IT APPEARS TO HAVE HAD NO EFFECT ON THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAS BECOME BEHOLDEN TO THESE BLACK PRESIDENTS IN RELATION TO THE RHODESIAN ISSUE.

I SHALL RETURN TO THIS POINT LATER, BUT HAVING GIVEN YOU THE BACKGROUND I WISH TO REFER NOW TO THE NEW PROPOSALS WHICH MR IVOR RICHARD BROUGHT TO SALISBURY. THEY ARE AS DIFFERENT AS CHALK AND CHEESE FROM THE ORIGINAL BRITISH PROPOSALS THAT FORMED THE BASIS OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN AGREEMENT WHICH I ACCEPTED LAST LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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SEPTEMBER. THE ORIGINAL PROPOSALS, IN KEEPING WITH THE CONCEPT OF A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT, INVOLVED TRUE POWER SHARING AND ENSURED AN ORDERLY PROGRESSION TO MAJORITY RULE. THE NEW PROPOSALS ARE RADICALLY DIFFERENT. IN DEFERENCE TO THE DEMANDS OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT THEY ENTAIL IMMEDIATE BLACK RULE, WHICH WOULD BE IMPOSED FROM OUTSIDE AND WOULD IN NO WAY REPRESENT THE VIEWS OF THE MAJORITY OF BLACK RHODESIANS. IT WOULD COME INTO BEING, NOT IN TWO YEARS TIME OR WHEN THE AGREED CONSTITUTIONAL AND ELECTORAL PROCESSES HAVE BEEN COMPLETED, BUT IMMEDIATELY. IT WOULD IN NO SENSE BE AN ELECTED GOVERNMENT. IN FACT, THE ONLY ELEMENT THAT WOULD BE THERE BY RIGHT OF VICTORY AT THE BALLOT BOX WOULD BE THE REPRESENTATIVES OF MY GOVERNMENT AND THEY WOULD NUMBER A MERE ONE-SIXTH OF THE CABINET. THIS IS A FURTHER EXTENSION OF THE TREND WHICH DEVELOPED AT GENEVA. ALTHOUGH THE GOVERNMENT DELEGATION, IN THE WORDS USED BY THE CHAIRMAN LAST NIGHT, FORMED HALF THE CONFERENCE, WE WERE IN ALL RESPECTS REGARDED AS MERELY ONE OF FIVE DELEGATIONS.

THE AFRICAN NATIONALIST LEADER WHO, IT SEEMS TO BE GENERALLY AGREED, COMMANDS THE GREATEST MEASURE OF SUPPORT AMONG AFRICANS WITHIN RHODESIA, WOULD LIKEWISE HAVE ONLY ONE-SIXTH OF THE SEATS IN THIS COUNCIL OF MINISTERS. IF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF MINISTERS WERE TO BE THIRTY, TEN WOULD BE WHITE, INCLUDING FIVE FROM THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT AND FIVE NOMINATED BY THE BRITISH. DESPITE THE FACT THAT MY GOVERNMENT HAS WON EVERY SEAT IN THE LAST THREE GENERAL ELECTIONS, I WOULD NOT HAVE ANY REPRESENTATIVES AMONG THESE FIVE NOMINATED WHITE MINISTERS. THE TWENTY BLACK MINISTERS WOULD COMPRISE FIVE FROM EACH OF THE GROUPS WHO WERE INVITED TO THE GENEVA CONFERENCE. TWO OF THESE LEADERS HAVE NO FOLLOWING OF ANY CONSEQUENCE WITHIN RHODESIA. THEY WERE AT GENEVA MERELY BECAUSE THEY HAD BEEN NOMINATED BY THE BLACK PRESIDENTS AND, I NEED HARDLY ADD, AGAINST OUR ADVICE. MY OWN REQUESTS FOR MODERATE BLACK OPINION TO BE REPRESENTED AT GENEVA WERE REJECTED, HENCE IT WILL BE UNREPRESENTED IN THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT.

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SECSTATE FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY SCHAUFELLE

PRETORIA FOR DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY EDMONDSON

THIS COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, WITH ITS TWO-THIRDS BLACK MAJORITY, WOULD HAVE FULL EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY IN MOST FIELDS. THE RESTRAINING INFLUENCE OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE, WHICH WAS A CARDINAL FEATURE OF THE ORIGINAL PROPOSALS, WOULD DISAPPEAR. INSTEAD, THERE WOULD BE A COMMISSIONER, NOMINATED AND APPOINTED BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, WHO WOULD HAVE A LIMITED POWER OF VETO. EXCEPT IN CERTAIN SPECIFIED FIELDS, HE WOULD NOT VOTE IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS. IN THESE FIELDS, IF ALL TEN WHITE MINISTERS VOTED AGAINST A MEASURE AND THE COMMISSIONER ABSTAINED OR VOTED WITH THEM, THE MEASURE WOULD BE BLOCKED. IF HE, OR FOR THAT MATTER, ANY ONE OF THE WHITE MINISTERS, VOTED WITH THE BLACK MAJORITY, THE MEASURE WOULD BE CARRIED. IN ALL OTHER MATTERS THE COMMISSIONER WOULD ACT ON THE ADVICE OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS WHO, WITH ITS BUILT-IN TWO-THIRDS BLACK MAJORITY, WOULD HAVE COMPLETE CONTROL. THIS IS A FAR CRY FROM THE PROTECTION THAT WOULD HAVE BEEN AFFORDED BY THE COUNCIL OF STATE DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD.

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IN THE VITAL AREA OF DEFENCE AND LAW AND ORDER K W#

PROPOSALS ARE QUITE UNACCEPTABLE. THEY ENVISAGE A SECURITY COUNCIL COMPRISING THE FOUGARRDERS OF THE BLACK DELEGATIONS AT GENEVA, THE THREE COMMANDERS, AND MYSELF, WITH THE COMMISSIONER IN THE CHAIR WITH A CASTING VOTE. THE COMMISSIONER WOULD BE EMPOWERED TO DISMISS THE COMMANDERS AND SENIOR OFFICERS AND REPLACE THEM WITH HIS OWN NOMINEES. THE NATIONAL SECURITY

COUNCIL WOULD BE RESPONSIBLE FOR REORGANISING THE ARMY AND THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA POLICE. I SHALL NOT ENLARGE ON THE IMPLICATIONS OF THIS ARRANGEMENT, EXCEPT TO SAY THAT IT BEARS NO RESEMBLANCE TO THE PROPOSALS I ACCEPTED IN PRETORIA WHICH PROVIDED THE KIND OF REASSURANCES I MENTIONED EARLIER, INCLUDING THE RETENTION OF THESE PORTFOLIOS IN WHITE HANDS.

THIS RELUCTANT BRITISH COMMISSIONER WOULD BE IN AN UNENVIABLE POSITION, FOR AS I HAVE REMARKED, OUTSIDE THE SECURITY FIELD HE WOULD HAVE NO REAL POWER AND VERY LITTLE AUTHORITY. I SAY RELUCTANT ADVISEDLY, BECAUSE THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAVE MADE IT CLEAR THAT THEY DO NOT WISH TO GET INVOLVED. INDEED, THEY SAY THAT IF THE PARTIES TO THE AGREEMENT DO NOT CONTINUE TO ABIDE BY IT, THEY WOULD WITHDRAW HIM. AS ONE OF THE VITAL ELEMENTS OF THE AGREEMENT WILL BE THE UNDERTAKING THAT TERRORISM WILL CEASE, THE IMPLICATIONS OF THIS PROVISIO ARE CLEAR. YET I AM BEING ASKED TO SURRENDER MY RESPONSIBILITIES, AND THE SOVEREIGNTY OF OUR COUNTRY, AND REPOSE THEM IN THIS RELUCTANT COMMISSIONER, WHOSE OWN GOVERNMENT WOULD IN NO CIRCUMSTANCES INTERVENE PHYSICALLY TO SUPPORT HIM IF THE SECURITY OF THE INTERIM STATE WERE IMPERILLED. TO PUT IT IN A NUTSHELL, THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WISH TO IMPOSE UPON US AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT, RECOMMENDED TO THEM BY THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS WORKING IN COLLUSION WITH THE TERRORIST-ORIENTATED PATRIOTIC FRONT. IF IT MISFIRES, AND CONSEQUENTLY THINGS BECOME UGLY IN RHODESIA, THE BRITISH REPRESENTATIVE WOULD RETREAT TO BRITAIN AND LEAVE THE REST OF US TO SORT THINGS OUT TO THE BEST OF OUR ABILITY.

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FROM WHAT I HAVE TOLD YOU OF THESE NEW PROPOSALS, IT WILL NOT COME AS A SURPRISE WHEN I SAY THAT, AFTER FULL CONSIDERATION OF ALL THE IMPLICATIONS, I HAVE THANKED HIM FOR HIS OFFER, BUT INFORMED HIM THAT ON THE EVIDENCE BEFORE US IT WILL BE IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF RHODESIA TO ADHERE TO THE ORIGINAL ANGLO-AMERICAN AGREEMENT OF SEPTEMBER LAST YEAR. IN DOING SO I HAVE NOT BROKEN OFF NEGOTIATIONS. ON THE CONTRARY, I HAVE URGED THAT WE CONTINUE TO NEGOTIATE ON THE BASIS OF THE ORIGINAL AGREEMENT TO WHICH THE BRITISH, AMERICAN AND RHODESIAN GOVERNMENTS WERE ALL PARTY. I HAVE ASSURED HIM THAT WITHIN THAT BASIC FRAMEWORK I AM PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE WITH FLEXIBILITY.

I RECALL THAT IN PRETORIA DR KISSINGER TOLD ME HE HAD BEEN WARNED AGAINST MAKING AN AGREEMENT WITH ME AS I WOULD RENEGE ON IT. IT IS IRONIC THAT THE BRITISH, HAVING ACCLAIMED THE AGREEMENT WHEN I ANNOUNCED IT, ARE THE ONES WHO ARE NOW ATTEMPTING TO BREAK IT. DR KISSINGER TOLD ME I MUST ACCEPT IT IN ITS ENTIRETY OR REJECT IT. I DID ACCEPT IT IN ITS ENTIRETY AND I ABIDE BY IT TODAY. HE ALSO SAID THAT IF THE AFRICANS REJECTED IT, THEY

WOULD BE SHOWN UP. I MAKE NO COMMENT ON THAT.

I HAVE ALSO URGED THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO CHANGE THEIR APPROACH - WHICH HAS CLEARLY BEEN A FAILURE - AND TO DEAL WITH THE AFRICANS IN RHODESIA RATHER THAN THE TERRORISTS AND THEIR HOSTS AND SPONSORS IN NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES. WHY SHOULD A FEW THOUSAND TERRORISTS, THE MAJORITY OF THEM MERE SCHOOLBOYS, CALL THE TUNE TO SIX MILLION BASICALLY PEACEFUL AND PEACE-LOVING AFRICANS? MR RICHARD HAS TOLD ME THAT A SETTLEMENT WILL ONLY BE VIABLE IF IT IS ACCEPTABLE TO THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS. WHY SHOULD THESE BLACK PRESIDENTS BE ACCORDED A POWER OF VETO OVER A SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA? WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO THE MUCH VAUNTED BRITISH "FIFTH PRINCIPLE" REGARDING ACCEPTABILITY TO THE PEOPLE OF RHODESIA AS A WHOLE?

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FM AMEMBASSY CAPE TOWN

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SECSTATE FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY SCHAUFLELE

PRETORIA FOR DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY EDMONDSON

FOR YEARS PAST, THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS HAVE BEEN CALLING

FOR MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA, URGING THAT THE RHODESIANS THEMSELVES MUST MAKE THE DECISION WITHIN RHODESIA. YET LAST WEEKEND THEY, THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS, TOOK IT UPON THEMSELVES TO CHOOSE THE NEW RHODESIAN LEADER, AND THEIR CHOICE WAS SOMEONE WHO DOES NOT REPRESENT MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA. IN OTHER WORDS, INSTEAD OF ENCOURAGING RHODESIANS TO GET ON THEMSELVES AND PRODUCE THE GENUINE ARTICLE, THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS ARE NOW ATTEMPTING TO FOIST A BOGUS SOLUTION ON RHODESIA. WHAT RIGHT HAVE THEY TO DECIDE RHODESIA'S FUTURE? THERE IS OVERWHELMING EVIDENCE AVAILABLE TODAY TO SHOW THAT THEIR SOLUTION IS NOT ACCEPTABLE TO THE MAJORITY OF BLACK RHODESIANS. CLEARLY, THIS EXTERNAL INTERFERENCE IS MACHIAVELLIAN. NOT ONLY WOULD IT RESULT IN A FALSE MAJORITY GOVERNMENT, IT WOULD PRODUCE A RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT WHICH WOULD DEPEND ON, AND THEREFORE BE BEHOLDEN TO, SOME EXTERNAL POWER. AT THE MOMENT, AND ON THE SURFACE AT ANY RATE, THAT POWER IS THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS. BUT IN THE LONG TERM, AND UNDER THE SURFACE, WE KNOW THAT THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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REAL POWER IS RUSSIA.

WE HAVE BEEN MORE THAN PATIENT WITH ALL THESE OUTSIDE FORCES INTERFERING IN OUR INTERNAL AFFAIRS. THE TIME HAS COME FOR US TO SET ABOUT DOING WHAT BLACK AND WHITE RHODESIANS HAVE BEEN REQUESTING FOR SOME TIME NOW - INSTEAD OF LOOKING OVER OUR SHOULDERS FOR OUTSIDE ASSISTANCE, LET RHODESIANS COME TOGETHER AND DEDICATE THEMSELVES TO FINDING A PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO OUR PROBLEMS.

THE AGREEMENT WHICH I MADE WITH DR KISSINGER IN PRETORIA 1 SEPTEMBER, WAS THE MOST DRAMATIC DECISION EVER MADE AFFECTING RHODESIA - THE ACCEPTANCE OF MAJORITY RULE WITHIN TWO YEARS. OUR MOST ARDENT CRITICS WERE TAKEN ABACK, AND WERE FULL OF PRAISE FOR THIS MAGNANIMOUS GESTURE ON THE PART OF RHODESIANS. NOT ONLY WAS IT APPLAUDED AND WELCOMED BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND BY THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER, IT ALSO MET THE DESIRES AND ASPIRATIONS OF RHODESIAN BLACKS. I AM STILL OF THE OPINION THAT THE ANGLO-AMERICAN AGREEMENT IS OUR BEST WAY FORWARD. THE REJECTION OF THIS AGREEMENT BY THE BLACK DELEGATIONS AT GENEVA CAME AS A SHOCK TO WHITE RHODESIANS, WHO HAD MADE SUCH A BOLD AND GENEROUS DECISION TO GO ALONG WITH THE PACKAGE DEAL. THE CRY OF A LACK OF TRUST IN THE RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT FROM THE BLACK POLITICIANS RANG HOLLOW, AND WAS CLEARLY A COMMUNIST INSPIRED GIMMICK. AFTER THE REJECTION OF THE AGREEMENT BY THE BLACK DELEGATIONS IN GENEVA, IT IS THE WHITE SECTION OF THE RHODESIAN PUBLIC WHICH COULD JUSTIFIABLY ACCUSE OTHERS OF A BREACH OF FAITH. HOWEVER, NO USEFUL PURPOSE IS SERVED BY RECRIMINATION OVER THE PAST. LET US LOOK TO THE FUTURE AND TO BRING ABOUT AN AGREEMENT AND PEACE IN OUR COUNTRY. IF THERE IS A LACK OF UNDERSTANDING AND TRUST, THE ONLY WAY TO SOLVE THIS

IS BY BRINGING PEOPLE TOGETHER TO DISCUSS THE PROBLEMS.

MANY PEOPLE ARE CALLING FOR GREATER EFFORT IN THE FIELD OF REMOVING RACIAL DISCRIMINATION. LET ME ASSURE YOU THAT MY GOVERNMENT GOES ALONG WITH THIS SENTIMENT. BUT IT IS MORE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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COMPLICATED THAN IT APPEARS ON THE SURFACE. FOR EXAMPLE IN SOME OF THE DISCUSSIONS WHICH I HAVE HAD WITH BLACK POLITICAL LEADERS IN RECENT YEARS, THEY ASKED ME TO HOLD MY HAND ON CERTAIN MEASURES TO REMOVE DISCRIMINATION, AS THEY BELIEVED IT WOULD BE ADVANTAGEOUS TO USE THESE AS PART OF A PACKAGE DEAL. HOWEVER, ONE OF THE GOOD THINGS WHICH HAS RESULTED FROM THE INCLUSION OF CHIEFS IN MY CABINET, IS THAT WE HAVE HAD MANY OPPORTUNITIES OF DISCUSSING THIS VEXED AND COMPLICATED PROBLEM. THEY CONVINCED US OF THE DESIRABILITY OF ACTING IMMEDIATELY TO REMOVE DISCRIMINATION. WE HAVE ACTED IN CERTAIN FIELDS, AND LEGISLATION IS BEING PREPARED TO INTRODUCE FURTHER CHANGES. HOWEVER, THE WHOLE SUBJECT IS FRAUGHT WITH DIFFICULTIES AND IS TAKING LONGER THAN WE ANTICIPATED. AT PRESENT WE ARE PREPARING FOR CHANGES IN KEEPING WITH THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE QUENET REPORT. NEEDLESS TO SAY, IT WOULD BE A FRUITLESS EXERCISE TACKLING CHANGES SUCH AS THOSE DEALING WITH THE FRANCHISE AND PARLIAMENT BECAUSE THESE WILL BE SUBJECTS FOR CONSIDERATION BY THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT. TO THOSE WHO ADVOCATE SWEEPING CHANGES REMOVING ALL DISCRIMINATION, I WOULD SAY THAT THE PROBLEM IS FAR TOO COMPLEX FOR SUCH A FACILE SOLUTION. THE MOST OBVIOUS EXAMPLE WHICH COMES TO MIND IN SUPPORT OF MY CLAIM IS THE TRIBAL TRUST LANDS. IF WE WERE TO REMOVE FROM THESE THAT PROTECTION AND SECURITY WHICH OUR BLACK RHODESIANS ENJOY, I DOUBT WHETHER THAT WOULD HELP TO SOLVE OUR PROBLEMS. ACCORDINGLY, I BELIEVE THAT THERE ARE A FEW SUCH CASES WHICH REQUIRE VERY CAREFUL CONSIDERATION. IN SPITE OF THIS, I REPEAT WHAT I SAID A SHORT WHILE AGO, NAMELY, THAT MY GOVERNMENT IS COMMITTED TO CREATING A NON-RACIAL SOCIETY IN RHODESIA. I WILL GO FURTHER AND SAY THAT WE HAVE MADE DECISIONS TO REMOVE DISCRIMINATION EVEN BEYOND THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE QUENET COMMISSION. HOWEVER, BECAUSE OF THE KIND OF COMPLICATION WHICH I HAVE MENTIONED, CONCERNING TRIBAL TRUST LANDS, IT IS VITAL FOR BLACK AND WHITE LEADERS TO DISCUSS THIS WHOLE QUESTION AND COME TO THE CORRECT SOLUTION.

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EB-08 /089 W

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O 241730Z JAN 77

FM AMEMBASSY CAPE TOWN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 5642

INFO AMEMBASSY PRETORIA NIACT IMMEDIATE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 5 OF 6 CAPE TOWN 0106

SECSTATE FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY SCHAUFELLE

PRETORIA FOR DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY EDMONDSON

TO THOSE WHO STILL DOUBT GOVERNMENT'S SINCERITY IN
ACCEPTING THE ANGLO-AMERICAN AGREEMENT, I ASK THEM TO ANALYSE
THIS CONTENTION. IF THIS GOVERNMENT, OR ANY RHODESIAN
GOVERNMENT, ATTEMPTED TO RENEGE ON SUCH A SOLEMN UNDERTAKING,
NOT ONLY THEIR ENEMIES, BUT THEIR FRIENDS AS WELL WOULD TURN
ON THEM. THERE COULD BE NO SURER WAY OF RHODESIA COMMITTING
SUICIDE. THEREFORE, I SINCERELY BELIEVE THAT WE CAN DISCARD
ANY THOUGHT ALONG THOSE LINES - IT SIMPLY DOES NOT MAKE SENSE -
TO PUT IT BLUNTLY, IT IS UNINTELLIGENT THINKING. WE RHODESIANS
WILL HAVE TO GO ON LIVING WITH THE DECISIONS WE MAKE, AND THIS
PROVIDES THE OUTSIDE WORLD WITH THE SUREST GUARANTEE POSSIBLE.
LET ME SPELL IT OUT ONCE AND FOR ALL, WE HAVE ACCEPTED AND
ARE PREPARED TO IMPLEMENT, THE ANGLO-AMERICAN AGREEMENT.

I PUT IT TO BLACK RHODESIANS THAT THEY HAVE THIS CHOICE:
THEY EITHER ENDORSE THE DECISION OF THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS,
SUPPORTED BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, THAT WE ACCEPT THE
PATRIOTIC FRONT AS THE NEW LEADERS OF RHODESIA. IN OTHER
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WORDS, TO INVITE INTO RHODESIA A SITUATION COMPARABLE TO THAT
IN MOZAMBIQUE OR ANGOLA. THIS IS THE BEST THAT THE OUTSIDE
WORLD CAN OFFER. THE ALTERNATIVE IS THAT RHODESIANS COME
TOGETHER WITHIN THEIR OWN COUNTRY, AND SOLVE THE PROBLEM AMONGST
THEMSELVES. MY OFFICE HAS BEEN INUNDATED WITH REQUESTS
FROM BLACK RHODESIANS TO ADOPT THIS COURSE. IT WIL MEAN THAT
PAST BITTERNESS AND SUSPICION MUST BE FORGOTTEN. IF WE ARE NOT
BIG ENOUGH TO ACCEPT THIS, IT IS A SAD REFLECTION ON OUR
SINCERITY OF PURPOSE. THOSE OF US WHO CLAIM TO BE LEADERS IN

RHODESIA, MUST BE PREPARED TO LEAD, AND IN PARTICULAR TO GIVE A LEAD IN RE-ESTABLISHING FAITH AND TRUST AMONGST OURSELVES. AS THE LEADER OF YUR GOVERNMENT, I HAVE COMMITTED MYSELF TO THIS TASK, AND I HAVE ISSUED INVITATIONS TO THE BLACK LEADERS TO JOIN ME. LET ME MAKE IT CLEAR THAT I EXCLUDE FROM THIS EXERCISE ANYONE WHO SUPPORTS TERRORISM.

ON THE TERRORIST FRONT, THINGS CONTINUE TO BE TOUGH, AND WE MUST BE REALISTIC AND HONEST ENOUGH TO ADMIT THAT IT WILL CONTINUE THIS WAY UNTIL WE REACH AN INTERNAL AGREEMENT AMONGST OURSELVES. HOWEVER, I AM PLEASED TO BE ABLE TO GIVE YOU THE REASSURANCE THAT THE SECURITY COMMANDERS HAVE INFORMED ME THAT THE MORALE AND FIGHTING SPIRIT OF OUR SECURITY FORCES IS EXCELLENT, AND THEY CONTINUE TO EXACT RETRIBUTION FROM THE TERRORISTS. I KNOW THAT IN SOME QUARTERS THERE IS A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF DEFEATIST TALK. HOWEVER, THIS HAS NO PLACE IN OFFICIAL THINKING, AND GOVERNMENT IS AT THIS MOMENT IMPLEMENTING MEASURES TO INCREASE OUR FIGHTING EFFORT. THERE ARE ADDITIONAL PLANS IN THE PIPE-LINE, AND SPEAKING IN GENERAL TERMS, A NEW AND TOUGHER LINE IS BEING CONSIDERED FOR OUR SECURITY EFFORT. WE ARE MAKING PREPARATIONS TO ENSURE THAT WE ARE IN A POSITION TO COUNTER ANY INCREASE IN TERRORISM RESULTING FROM THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS RECENT DECISION.

LET ME REITERATE AND RE-EMPHASISE THAT THE RHODESIAN NATION HAS NO INTENTION OF REDUCING THEIR EFFORT OR THEIR DETERMINATION IN THE FIGHT TO RESIST A COMMUNIST TAKE OVER OF LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THEIR COUNTRY. AFTER ALL OF OUR EFFORTS, AND THE SACRIFICES WHICH HAVE BEEN MADE, THERE CAN BE NO QUESTION OF SURRENDER. IF WE WERE TO GIVE WAY NOW, IT WOULD NOT BE TO MAJORITY RULE, IT WOULD BE TO A MARXIST INDOCRINATED MINORITY. THERE CAN BE ABSOLUTELY NO SHADOW OF DOUBT THAT THAT IS EXACTLY WHAT THE LATEST BRITISH PROPOSALS WOULD BRING TO RHODESIA. IN SUCH A COUNTRY, NOT ONLY WOULD THERE BE NO PLACE FOR THE WHITE RHODESIAN, MODERATE BLACK RHODESIANS WOULD FIND THEMSELVES AN ENSLAVED AND PERSECUTED PEOPLE.

IN VIEW OF CERTAIN COMMENTS MADE BY MR RICHARD DURING HIS VISIT, IT IS WORTH REITERATING, ESPECIALLY TO THE OUTSIDE WORLD, THAT THE CONFLICT IN RHODESIA IS NOT BETWEEN BLACK AND WHITE, IT IS BETWEEN THOSE WHO BELIEVE IN PEACE AND FREEDOM, AND THOSE WHO DO NOT.

IN REPLY TO HIS CLAIM THAT ACCEPTANCE OF THESE NEW PROPOSALS WOULD MEAN A LIFTING OF SANCTIONS, AND END OF TERRORISM, AND THE CREATION OF A TRUST FUND, LET ME POINT OUT THAT THESE SAME CONCESSIONS APPLY EQUALLY TO THE KISSINGER PROPOSALS, WHICH AS I HAVE ALREADY STATED, WERE ACCEPTED BY THE BRITISH

AND AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS.

AT THE CONCLUSION OF OUR MEETING THIS MORNING I STRESSED
TO MR RICHARD THAT AS FAR AS WE WERE CONCERNED, THE NEGOTIATIONS
WOULD CONTINUE IN ORDER TO FIND A JUST SETTLEMENT. I HOPE
THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT FEELS THE SAME WAY.

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ACTION AF-08

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EUR-12 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00
NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03
NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-07 OMB-01 TRSE-00
EB-08 /089 W

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O 241730Z JAN 77

FM AMEMBASSY CAPE TOWN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 5643

INFO AMEMBASSY PRETORIA NIACT IMMEDIATE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 6 OF 6 CAPE TOWN 0106

SECSTATE FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY SCHAUFELLE

PRETORIA FOR DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY EDMONDSON

IN CONCLUSION, I WOULD SAY THIS TO ALL RHODESIANS:
WE HAVE REACHED A CRISIS IN OUR HISTORY WHICH DEMANDS OUR
IMMEDIATE ATTENTION. THE PROPOSALS PUT TO US IN PRETORIA
LAST YEAR BY DR KISSINGER CREATED A PRECEDENT - FOR THE FIRST
TIME EVER, THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT INTERVENED IN THE
RHODESIAN POLITICAL SCENE. THEIR INITIATIVE HAS BEEN SET BACK-
NOT DESTROYED - BY BRITISH PARTICIPATION. WITH OUR GREAT
KNOWLEDGE OF THE LOCAL SITUATION, YOUR GOVERNMENT IS CONVINCED
THAT THE KISSINGER PROPOSALS WHICH LEAD TO THE ANGLO-AMERICAN
AGREEMENT PRESENTS US WITH THE BEST WORKING BASE FOR A
SETTLEMENT. THE INTEREST AND PARTICIPATION OF THE UNITED
STATES - THE MOST POWERFUL AND INFLUENTIAL NATION ON THIS
EARTH, AND THE LEADER OF THE FREE WORLD - IS SOMETHING WORTH
RETAINING. FOR THIS REASON ALONE, WE SHOULD CONSIDER
SERIOUSLY BEFORE DEPARTING FROM THE KISSINGER PROPOSALS. AT
THE SAME TIME, AS I HAVE STATED ON PREVIOUS OCCASIONS, WE ACCEPT
THAT THERE MUST BE LATITUDE FOR MANOEUVRE WITHIN THE PRINCIPLES

OF THE AGREEMENT. CLEARLY, THERE IS A CHALLENGE BEFORE
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RHODESIANS WHICH INVITES US TO TAKE THE INITIATIVE TO COME TO
GRIPS WITH OUR PROBLEM. ALL GREAT PROBLEMS, SUCH AS THE ONE
WHICH NOW CONFRONTS US, REQUIRE COURAGE AND LEADERSHIP IF
THEY ARE TO BE SOLVED. SHOULD OUR LEADERS FAIL TO RISE TO THE
OCCASIONS., SHOULD THEY EVADE THE ISSUE WHICH SO CLEARLY
CONFRONTS THEM, THEN THEY WILL HAVE FORFEITED THE RIGHT TO LEAD.
A CHALLENGING, OPTIMISTIC FUTURE IS CLEARLY SOMETHING WHICH IS
WITHIN OUR REACH. IF WE FAIL TO GRASP THE OPPORTUNITY, THEN IN
ALL HONESTY THE FUTURE LOOKS BLEAK. THE THOUGHT OF GOING ON YEAR
AFTER YEAR, AS WE ARE DOING NOW, WITH THIS SENSELESS SLAUGHTER
OF ONE RHODESIAN BY ANOTHER RHODESIAN, THIS ARTIFICIAL AND
DESTRUCTIVE CONSTRICTION ON OUR ECONOMY, IS A SITUATION WHICH
WE MUST NOT BE PREPARED TO TOLERATE. ACCORDINGLY, ARE WE
NOT DUTY BOUND TO TERMINATE THIS STATE OF AFFAIRS FORTHWITH?
IF THOSE WHO CLAIM TO LEAD TODAY FAIL IN THIS CRITICAL MISSION,
THEN THEY SHOULD BE REMOVED FROM OFFICE, IN ORDER TO
ENABLE OTHERS TO BE GIVEN AN OPPORTUNITY. LET US DEDICATE
OURSELVES TO UNITING ALL RHODESIANS SO THAT WE CAN GO
FORWARD TOGETHER AND PROVIDE THE ANSWER WHICH WILL CONFOUND OUR
CRITICS, AND PROVE TO THE REST OF THE WORLD THAT WE ARE NOT
THE KIND OF PEOPLE WHO HAVE TO RELY ON OTHERS TO SOLVE OUR
PROBLEMS FOR US. INDEED, HAD OTHERS RESISTED MEDDLING IN
OUR AFFAIRS, WE WOULD HAVE SOLVED THEM LONG AGO. I BELIEVE THAT
VITAL DECISIOS ARE ABOUT TO BE MADE IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE.
LET US HAVE THE FAITH TO BELIEVE THAT, WITH GOD'S GUIDANCE,
WE WILL WIN THROUGH.
END TEXT.
BOWDLER

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Message Attributes

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Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
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22 May 2009
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